J: Hanks E-5 (1953-1954) 1964 AO7 Central Thai AO7

SUMMARY

On the assumption that a woman's physical and mental condition at childbirth is a product of her life-long daily habits and ideas as well as any particular injunctions set up to insure well-being in pregnancy and parturition, the cultural scene was searched to ascertain all possible relevancies.

The farmers of Bang Chan lived in a tropical, rice-growing terrain, annually flooded by the monsoon run-off. Food was plentiful even if cash was not. Except for better housing and equipment, and a greater enjoyment of market novelties, the rich lived much like the poor. The work in the fields by women paralleled that by men. Sharp physical demands, especially at planting and harvest, made them muscular.

At marriage the partners were fully mature and no woman was married against her wishes. The birth of a child was welcomed as leading to higher personal, social, and economic status.

The underlying concepts which explain why the food and other injunctions, both pre-natal and post-partum, and the ritual behavior took their particular forms, are explained.

The human body, harboring multiple immaterial souls, was seen as composed of earth, fire, water, and wind. Illness was caused by intrusive disruption of these four elements, or by soul loss. Food and medicines had properties which could be used to restore balance in the elements. The traditional curers or exorcisers had magical and herbal remedies obtained ritually from a teacher. Since Buddhist phrasings, often read from old texts in weekly sermons, molded Bang Chan's conception of life, the ultimate cause of health or illness was the presence or absence of merit. This determined one's kam (karma), the balance sheet of virtuous actions which one added to, or reduced by sinning throughout successive existences over eons of time.

The Buddhist cosmic view of individuals as separate autonomous beings brought it about that help was the only dynamic relationship possible between people. The bonds established by helping people, on this earth, especially in the tasks of feeding priests, lasted on into successive incarnations. Thus, meritorious people met again and might marry again. Families had continuity over time, and babies were born into the "right"

food, seed, and chicken feed were met, 58 per cent of the crop remained to be sold off for cash (Janlekha 1955:53). Almost every inhabitant was engaged in commercial rice farming. A few teachers, craftsmen, and traders, alone did not farm. Plantings of early and late varieties in different plots spread the toil. Cooperative work or some local hired help assured adequate labor forces at the needed moment. Nevertheless, two heavy work seasons dominated the rice cycle. The first of these, June through August, involved soil preparation and transplanting of the seedlings in long straight rows. In the second season, November into February, the rice was harvested, brought home for threshing and winnowing, then sold or stored. The straw was stacked as buffalo feed. People were anxious during the preparatory and planting season, for rains were fickle and the planning and timing had to be exact. Work was hard and almost grim. Harvest, though perhaps more of a physical strain because people cut the stalks by day, then threshed and winnowed far into the night, was gay and so less taxing emotionally, for the crop had safely passed through the threats of flood, drought, and pest, and "cash was in sight." Haste was necessary because each plot of rice had to be harvested within three or four days of its maturity, and because at that season the canals were drying up rapidly, raising the possibility not only that human backs and not boats would move the crop, but that the buyers themselves could not get their boats in to take the main portion to the urban markets. Then a farmer might have to wait until the canals filled again in June to sell his rice and get his money. Since during the busy seasons everyone from age 16 on up was taken up with farming, the cooking, child care, and other chores were carried on by the aged and the very young. These work days taxed to the limit the strength of all men, women, and even young people. Ten to 18 hours might be spent stooping to transplant or weed, or, at harvest, to cut the rice stalk close to the ground. There was a great deal of heavy lifting of seedling bundles or sheaves. The few professional masseurs in the area said they were kept on the run because of back complaints especially during the periods of heavy labor.

In the periods between these two seasons, tools were repaired, houses rebuilt, and ceremonies organized. Extra cash was earned in various ways. People kept very busy, though they did allow themselves more sleep.

The importance of women's role in agriculture is indicated by their virtual equation with men. In every step of rice-production women worked alongside men, plowing with the buffalo, planting, weeding, harvesting, repairing the dikes, hauling, etc. Only uprooting the seedlings was exclusively men's work (even this was done by women elsewhere in Thailand [Kingshill 1960:73]).

Besides the work in rice-fields, women dug and cleaned

462 Besides the work in rice-fields, women dug and cleaned [503] canals and ditches, mounded land, and fished in many ways, the [226] most laborious of which was plunging a heavy basket into the mud to catch burrowing fish. In the household chores, in which men shared to some extent, they carried water, cut and fetched wood, tended livestock, cultivated kitchen gardens, [501] pounded rice in mortars, and cleaned houses. Boats were rowed by paddling or sculled by standing and pushing a single large [354] oar. Cooking was time consuming. The low stoves were on the [352] ground or floor. Since there were no tables or chairs, one squatted two to four hours a day to cut or pound ingredients, [516] stir the curry, or wash the dishes.

868 The training of boys and girls for farm and household 561 work was thorough and started early. By 18 years of age, 461 boys and girls with few exceptions were experienced in every step of farming. Janlekha's chart (1955:82) indicates the progression (parenthetical additions are the present author's):

Age	Method	Kinds of farm work
5 - 7	not forced, but allowed or induced to work if they want to	light hauling, removal of weeds which have been turned over by harrowing
8 - 12	mild pressure	light hauling, removal of weeds which have been turned over by harrowing; some household work and help in the kitchen - girls only - (sometimes boys)
13 - 14	moderate pressure	hauling, weeding, buffalo-tending, transplanting, chicken-feeding, fishing, household work (boys and girls)
15 - 16	high pressure	all kinds of farm work, harrowing, harvesting, and uprooting - boys only - are started at this age.

872 Children worked in the fields before and after school 461 which, compulsory for all children aged eight to fourteen, was held from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. five and one-half days a week. Vacations coincided with peak work seasons so children could help in the fields or at home.

This economic picture indicates that from early childhood, women had engaged in such physical labor that by 18 years of age they had strong muscles and backs through lifting, stooping, and squatting. Since to stop work during pregnancy was construed as laziness, women worked vigorously up to the day of delivery. If a woman were delivered during one of the hectic seasons, she might shorten her post-natal rest to whatever she thought was a safe minimum.

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Marriage

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As people of the community often met at the temple, at ceremonies, and at work parties, there too young people met. Unmarried girls went freely and often alone on duties about the community, and also to Minburi to sell vegetables or take a load of paddy to the mill. To temple fairs and such they went in groups. Though parents hoped their children would marry within the community, a few young people "married out."

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Girls were married between 17 and 27 or so, most frequently around 21 to 23. Since boys at 21 might have to serve 2 years in the army, and were urged to spend as well at least a few months in the priesthood, their marriages took place between 22 and 30, most often around 24 or so. Parents were in no hurry to marry off their grown children at the very age when their productivity was funneling wealth back into the family. However, if male help in the family were short, parents were more receptive to suitors. No girl was married against her wishes nor to a stranger.[4] Marriages might be arranged through formal conversations opened by the man's family and carried on through a go-between, but the girl had the final say. A secret agreement between the partners might even precede negotiations. About half of the marriages were elopements, sometimes arranged because negotiations were dragging, sometimes to avoid the higher costs of more formal arrangements. Marriage, though largely based on socio-economic factors (Phillips:62) was not devoid of personal esteem. Sharp (Bang Chan data at Cornell) has a note on the desirable qualities in a husband as viewed by women. "Sexual virility," last on the list, was minimized in relation to such qualities as "religiousness," "wealth," "industriousness," which headed the list.

[702] [793] 584 583 581

4. A person who uses magical means to force an unwilling woman's love "will be born 500 times as a mad dog."

[832] [715]

close touch with each other's activities and needs. 621

These residence arrangements had considerable bearing on the amount of help at hand for a pregnant, parturient, or lactating woman, especially since every woman expected to bear her child at home. A woman's first child was often born while she was still resident in the house of her parents or parents-in-law. If the separate household had been set up, and especially if there were other small children, a parturient's mother or other relative came to stay with her for delivery and post-delivery care, or a woman might return to her parental or her husband's home for the event. In fact, since husbands and wives were both needed in the fields, it took great diligence for a woman, without extra kinfolk in the house, to carry on child-care, cooking, and field-work, and then undergo child-bearing besides. The extensive overlap in the division of labor (Sharp et al. 1953:94-98), though, resulted in much sharing by husbands in the household chores, so that the burdens were somewhat eased. Help in child-birth was one of the areas of mutual aid freely accorded by neighbors, so all women could count on adequate or even ample help at this time. 621 844 592 844 476 593 [462]

Wealth Differences:

Way of Life 556 875 441

Real polarities of wealth existed. A well-to-do person owned rice fields, a good house, and had many devoted kinsmen. Teachers who were governmental civil servants and a few of the traders were somewhat better off because they had regular sources of cash. A poor man, owning no land, lived humbly and hired out at day labor and other odd jobs. Yet the way of life of the well-to-do was not very different from that of the poor. Practically all persons worked in the fields or at related activities, wore the same cotton clothes, and ate the same food. Rice was plentiful. Fish, fruit, vegetables, and fuel could be amply obtained practically without cost, though it was also possible to spend money on these. Yet here and there persons were beginning to lose their old satisfaction in life as a farmer. Changes were beginning to come in, heralded by such things as hair permanently waved, gasoline pressure-lamps, increased geographical and political awareness, grumbling over the cost of living, and frustration over rising expectations. Urban life as met with in Bangkok was viewed with some awe as a glittering universe with different ideas and needs, yet also with some uneasiness. The city dwellers sometimes looked down on the country dwellers and made them feel uncomfortable. [464] 556 511 178 369

magical formulae and incantations (khāthā cf. Textor 1960:80-98; 67-79). It was one of the branches of occultism (saiyasāt [McF. 1940:895]), the ancient science which sought by magical means to control the forces of the heavens and of earth and to manipulate them in behalf of man's interests and enterprises, whether economic, aesthetic, personal, or other. Some of the other branches were dancing, singing, the agricultural rites, boxing, boat- and house-building, and the life-cycle rites. This powerful wisdom was contained in sacred books at the Buddhist temple where it passed, usually orally, from priest to priest. It could be transmitted away from the temple between men, if they had once been ordained. Its transmission was controlled by ritual teacher-pupil relations, and its use by formal request through presentation of a sacred offering, the khwan khāo (cf. Dūan's Tale p.44). Unauthorized magic did not work because it was not validated by its supernatural discoverer; improper ritual behavior incurred strong supernatural sanctions. Instruction in magic and its use was free except for the token offerings and coin in the khwan khāo. The only rigid obligation was a public annual homage-to-the-teacher ritual (wai khrū).

The persons authorized to handle any part of saiyasāt were called mō. In the context of medicine, mō was translated "doctor." To keep the modern and ancient traditions separate, we shall use the Thai word "mō" throughout this paper for the practitioner of the ancient occult art, reserving the word "doctor" for physicians trained in modern medicine.

The field of medicine was split into categories or specialties. There were, for instance, the exorcisers of spirits or disease objects (mō phī), and the curers (mō raksā) who made up decoctions particularly for element imbalances. Astrologist-foretellers (mō dū) analysed disturbances due to astral confluences; soul-ceremonialists (mō khwan) carried on the khwan-strengthening rites; and the mō sanē specialized in love and hate magic. On a lower plane were masseurs (mō nūat) and midwives (mō tamyāe). No specialist could operate in the field of another unless he had formally acquired that specialty. No limits, though, were set on the number of specialties a person might acquire so that all their lives, mō were open to and seeking new knowledge by pilgrimage, discussion, or visit to a Chinese or modern druggist. The major curing specialties were only in the hands of males, but men and women both practiced the minor branches of midwifery and massaging.[19]

19. A woman medium (khonsong) who cured when possessed by the spirit of a male mō was not entitled to be called mō. Her special circumstances are discussed in "Magic and Maturity."

562 delivery, "her blood was purified to a white color to become
[827] the milk of the breast."[48] Nursing a child was the essence
[853] of a woman's function, the supremely feminine act. A priest said, "A mother mercifully receives the khwan into her womb, and for maintaining life gives more of her own body, strength, and care (i.e. than does the father). Mothers are born to love children. Theirs is a steady intent to provide children with successful existences. To a mother one is most grateful" (S.S.).

562 In a wider context, not only all their household members
462 but people anywhere were the objects of women's nurture:
252 women were in charge of the cooking even if occasionally
264 helped by men. At the meals they prepared they were often the last to eat, so often "holding back and eating whatever was left over," that in a poor houshold, short rationing daily was probable (Hauck, et al.:35,49). One old lady expressed deep satisfaction that she "did not feel hungry any more." She construed this as proof that she had ample
[082] merit, but it also meant that she was a great donor who gave
[431] continuously and took little. Women usually offered the
[796] early morning food to priests in behalf of the family, and they took charge of cooking the immense amount of food served at large ceremonies and temple festivities. When
593 age pushed women past their mature capacities, they returned
888 to the status of recipients. A son said of his senile mother, "She has gone back to being a child" (klap pai pen dek). The son's wife cooked delicacies for her.

562 A desire to give tender care and nourishment was deemed
857 inborn in all women. Although sex was not strongly
[291] differentiated in babyhood,[49] by age 3 a hard-to-handle
[593] skirt was put on a tiny girl, who reacted with vast pride. By 5, girls were helping with cooking and baby tending. Often has an older sister of 9 or 12 been observed patiently feeding her charge the ice cream she longed to eat herself.

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[822] 48. This very phrase was congruent with the colors associated with the khwan. Red or white flags, or pieces of cloth, or puddings (khanom) were required wherever khwan were involved, such as in rice, san phra phūm, and tham khwan ceremonies. Red was an auspicious color, white symbolized innocence and purity.

[856] 49. Anuman Rajadhon reports, though, that at the moment of birth, the child's sex was immediately "adjusted" (Anuman Rajadhon:127).

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[602
[184] affection overrode kinship.[64] Thus affinal relatives and non-kin neighbors were also requested to assist. Buddhists attended Muslims and vice-versa, (though Muslim women preferred female assistance).

[609] In emergencies the professional midwives' area was the whole community. They travelled long distances to attend women who were not close kin. No parturient, however, even in an emergency, was ever attended by a complete stranger. In all likelihood, every adult in the community knew the midwives at least by sight.

759 As to the size of the practices, reported activities ranged from the Muslim midwife's estimate of 10 per year, down to 2 or 3 per year.[65] The 2 men and the most competent female midwife reported about 4 per year, a figure probably weighted on the side of the difficult cases per year. It is noteworthy that the men, in spite of being as [462] we shall see both mɔ̄ and midwife, did not have larger practices than the women. It was considered basically a woman's skill.

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465 None of the midwives derived much income from their practices, nor did they expect it to be significant. Their main income came from rice-growing from which, however, the women and one of the males had largely retired because of age. The other male midwife was exceptionally busy as a labor contractor, builder of houses, land-owner, and headman as well. The midwives found the 5 to 30 baht offered

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64. Two teachers who were in the kinship category of granddaughter (lān) to the 3 best midwives, and lived only a few hundred yards from them, were delivered by a woman who was mother-in-law to one and husband's older sister to the other and who was "not a midwife but knows how." Since labor was quick and normal, no higher help was necessary. On the other hand, all 3 of these midwives turned up to help at the confinement of another cherished "granddaughter." Only one of them actually delivered the infant but other functions were diplomatically divided up by the young mother.

65. Hauck studied 46 babies, aged up to 3 and so not all born in one year. Thirty-one were delivered by 4 of the professional female midwives (12,9,7,3 respectively); a male midwife and an "experienced" person had done 2 each; 11 [602 women, one each (Hauck, 1959:61). A few of the latter 11 [571] were ordinary kin, not midwives.

251 which did not attract them could be left anywhere out of reach of dogs. Raw rice was stored in a large jar or oil can while salt, fermented fish, shrimp paste[1] and fishsoy[1] were kept in smaller jars or bottles. Such containers were customarily covered. Dried food materials such as onions, garlic, chili peppers and other seasonings were often kept in a basket hung from the roof. Paddy, i.e. unhusked rice, was kept in a large bin of matting or wood, the excess sometimes simply piled on an uncovered mat on the floor.

128 Descriptions of two kitchens, one in a relatively prosperous household and one in a poorer home in Bang Chan, are included in excerpts from field notes, Appendix A, p. 93.

312 In a few homes, a clay water jar was kept in the kitchen or nearby, but more frequently foods were washed, and cooking water obtained at the canal or fish pond.

The water level varied between heavy flood and threatened drought. There were no deep wells in the whole area. Rainwater was collected from the roofs and stored in jars, but during the dry season, the canal or fishpond, although low, must supply the needs of the household. In some, drinking water drawn from the fishpond was preferred, and an effort might be made to keep buffalo from wallowing in it, and to avoid contaminating it with fecal or food wastes or by bathing. Others considered the moving water of the canal preferable to pond water.

General Social Factors Affecting Nutritional Level

462 In Bang Chan, most farm and household tasks were shared by men and women. Both sexes plowed, planted, harvested and dealt with rice buyers; managed buffaloes, boats, and children; cooked, fished and cut wood for fuel; hired out as labor hands, "living in" if desired.

554 184 Though there were clear differences in socio-economic status, the daily life of the people was much alike: whether owners of land or renters, whether farming large or small acreages, the rich and the poor worked in the fields at the same tasks, produced or gathered much of their sustenance, and ran out of cash periodically. Socio-economic status was roughly defined in terms of food: a poor man "had one meal only to forego another;" a rich man "had or could get what he wanted to eat." (Sharp et al. 1953, p. 264.)

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1. Description of these products will be found on pp. 17-18.

594 What differences in circumstances existed that might affect nutritional level? On the one hand were relatively isolated nuclear families, which we estimated as 15-20% of the
434 families, living in tiny separate cottages.[1] Usually with in-
464 adequate or no land, they earned an irregular income by hiring
423 themselves out for farm or other work. At the other extreme,
596 in a hamlet-like cluster of dwellings, lived a closely affili-
592 ated group of kin. A senior couple more or less headed the
476 married sisters, brothers, or children, maybe with a hired man, or family that as autonomous households cooperated amicably in economic and domestic tasks. We estimated these as 20-25% of the Bang Chan families. The larger social unit, having more hands to produce, and to share tasks, was better able to provide good food and general health care to its members, than a small isolated family. Four problems more easily handled by the larger group were household chores and child-care, farming, borrowing, and earning money.

855 Young children had to be constantly tended lest they fall into the water, the fire, or under the buffalo's feet. They never entered the fields during work. Fishing and gathering of water plants was complicated because in boats, small children had to be held. Where there were but two parents and young children, one parent could not do many things until the other came home. Perhaps neither partner could stay away long enough to get a big batch of fish or greens from the canal, or
[252] go to the store. Cooking was simplified, or food might be prepared once a day only. Respite came only when the first born was able to help oversee a younger child, sometimes staying home from school to do so. Where the adult cooperative
596 476 group was larger, movement was freer. All the strong adults could work in the fields or at a job, confident that the home was well tended. They came home to a well-prepared meal, ready when they wanted it. Such households had more fresh fish because farm work could be completed sooner, hence more persons
[871] could devote themselves to fishing. Some physically able members could even be spared and financed to go beyond the required four grades of elementary school.

241 Plowing could be done by a man and wife, but for both
462 transplanting and harvesting which had to be done within a few
476 days, large groups were necessary. Two patterns of auxiliary
464 group labor prevailed: reciprocal cooperative work, and hiring of labor.

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114 1. Janlekha, 1955, categorized families as 5% "one-
162 person," 59% nuclear, 8% limited extended (including one or
594 more parents of a spouse), 27% extended (including dependent
596 married couples or other collateral relatives), and the temple
423 residents. At least 32% of the families had inadequate or no land. His figures do not indicate the degree of domestic cooperation which was an ameliorating factor in well-being.

Seasonal Activities

128 A chart has been prepared to show the climatic conditions in Bang Chan and what people were doing at different seasons (Chart 1). For convenience, the periods covered by the four rounds of the dietary survey (p. 58) are included.

22] The year starts with May, the beginning of the rice-
132 year. At this time the rains began to soften the parched ground, and the heat slackened. School re-opened. Farmers
241 turned to plowing, harrowing, raising the seedlings. Both
512 sexes worked about equally in field labor, boys from 14 and
871 girls from about 15 years of age performing tasks according
462 to skill and strength. Everyone was in the field at dawn.
883 The buffalo, but not the farmer, rested through the noonday heat (about 10 a.m. until 2 p.m.) and also on the weekly holy
264 day. Meals were usually eaten about 10 a.m. and after returning from the field at dark. Although two meals a day were usual at other times, at this season, some had a third
[262 meal about 2 p.m. If the buffalo were brought home to rest, this meal could be eaten at home, but hired laborers or those working far from home often took with them rice and other foods in a (2)pin-(1)too, or tiered lunch kit.

221 With the rains, the canals had filled, so that by June
132 buyers with big rice boats could return. The few farmers who
501 could afford to hold onto a portion of their last year's crop
443 sold it for a better price at this time. Vegetables and
241 fruits which had died in the long drought were replaced, and trees were planted.

24 In July the heavy transplanting season began. Because
221 of cooperative work habits or hiring out, people worked solidly day after day for two months on their own or on an-
132 other's fields. It was dawn-to-dark, back-breaking work.

This was an anxious time. The seedlings had to go in at exactly the right time. Water level was only partly con-
[312] trollable. Lack of rain might be remedied by pumping water from the canals but flooding would drown the plants. School
871 vacation was scheduled at this time so both teachers and
857 children could help. Older children might work in the fields,
887 while younger ones, from 8 to 13, and the aged took over the care of babies and toddlers, fished, cooked, gathered food
[438 for the family and grass for the buffalo. People knew the crop was subject to drought and flood, pests of rats and worms, destruction by birds or wandering buffalo or duck, and in the end to the mysterious fluctuations of the price of rice on the world market. Moreover, some persons worried about debts, acquired from giving a ceremony or making a capital investment and sometimes from heavy gambling during the rest season.

273 in 1955 (Goldsen and Ralis, 1957, p. 57) said they drank whiskey often, 22% drank occasionally, 47% seldom, and only 22% said they never drank it.

Sale of Home Produced Foods

433 434 443 Although a majority of the families in Bang Chan made most of their cash income by rice farming, sale of other home produced foods, fish, and food materials such as swamp cabbage and lotus stems which grew wild in the canals was a minor but relatively steady source of income for many families. Six of the 11 families that participated in the dietary study obtained some income from sale of food[1]. The woman frequently had major responsibility for these activities. As noted by Sharp et al. (1953), a few poor families only, added to their income by selling fish.

[442]

121 In connection with this study, our concern with sale of home produced foods is primarily with the nutritional rather than the economic aspects,[2] although the two cannot be completely dissociated. Do activities of this sort on the part of some families make a greater variety of foods available to the villagers as a whole? Are some foods sold for cash which from the nutritive standpoint, might well be kept for home use? If so, is the cash thus obtained used to purchase other foods or non-food items? Is the food purchased as useful, from the nutritive standpoint, as that sold? From the standpoint of improving the nutritive value of the diet of Bang Chan families in general, would more home production of fruits, vegetables, fish and eggs by most families be feasible, or should a few families be encouraged to develop these activities on a year round basis, to increase the local supply of food other than rice? Questions of this sort must be considered by anyone attempting to improve food habits in the village.

Annual Calendar of Foods Commonly Used

221 267 122 [123] From the records extending over the period of a year, of foods used by various families participating in the dietary study, and from food records provided by children in the health classes in December 1952, February, May, June, July, September, October and November 1953, and January 1954, a calendar has been constructed showing the approximate times of year at which the foods most commonly used in Bang Chan were available (Chart 2). Foods included in this chart were

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1. See Table 8, p. 62.

2. See Janlekha (1955).

[Text continues on page 29 -- Analyst]

271 contaminated drinking water, but the traditional use of boiled water for newborn infants and their mothers, and its occasional use for sick persons, might provide the starting point for a desirable change.

Meal Preparation and Service

Processes and Equipment

252 The principal processes involved in food preparation for which equipment was required are: cutting solid food into bite-size pieces, pounding spices and flavoring materials, grating coconut, straining, boiling, sauteing in a small amount of fat, steaming, and roasting on a stick or metal support over the fire. Although foods were steamed or roasted only occasionally, the processes were familiar to all.

358 The Thai kitchen had no oven. When the term "baked" was used, it might mean cooking with dry heat on a rack over the fire (as banana baked in the skin) or without fat in the frying pan (as small dried fish toasted in this way).

128 415 Equipment used during meal preparation by the 11 families observed on 44 survey days is listed in Appendix A, p. 96, that used in serving and eating food, on p. 96.

252 415 554 184 The type of food preparation and service was much the same in the relatively well-to-do and the poorer households in Bang Chan. The chief difference in equipment for food preparation and service in families of different economic status was in the number of items of one kind which were owned. Thus a poor family might own one knife and one clay water jar, whereas an affluent family would probably own several knives and a number of water jars. Equipment used on special occasions, as in preparation of food for large numbers of people, was owned by well-to-do families only. Some had enough equipment for large cooperative work parties.

Persons Responsible for Food Preparation

252 462 Food was usually prepared by the homemaker and/or older daughter, if one were at home, but all members of the family who were old enough to help, had some knowledge of food preparation and did prepare food as the occasion demanded. While preparing, cooking and serving food were more frequently carried out by women than by men, adults and school-age children of both sexes had some competence in this area. "While certain activities are normally assigned to men and others to women, the Thai maintain no rigid compartmentalization and are unembarrassed when a woman does a man's job or a man does

252 a woman's" (Sharp et al., 1953, p. 88). For instance, the
462 husband cooked when his wife was away from home, e.g. selling in the market or in farm labor, and of course when she was
252 sick or resting after childbirth. The ability of boys as well
867 as girls to cook rice and some of the accompaniments was taken for granted. A girl or boy could cook rice "as soon as he could lift the rice pot," e.g. at 6 or so; by age 12 he could cook a creditable meal. In mid-December, 1952, on the last day of school before vacation, one of us saw committees of school children (aged 7-14 years) preparing food for a special meal, on the school grounds. The variety of dishes prepared and the ease with which the children went about their tasks gave evidence of the home experience these children had had
252 (Hauck, 1953). Responsibility for food preparation increased
[383] with age up to about 15 years, after which all available able-bodied family members did field work during the busy seasons (cf. p. 11). Several hours per day were spent in cooking and by middle age, parents were eager to turn this job over to a
[597] daughter or daughter-in-law. If they had no daughter, this was an explicit reason for adopting a baby girl.

252 Certain men of eminence, e.g. headmen and elders, would
554 not be asked to cook at all, but as they aged, they might re-
881 turn to the task. One old headman, all of whose children had married and left home, said that he was doing the cooking for
252 2 months because his wife had back trouble. Some dishes were
562 cooked by men only, even when their wives stood by: turtle, frog and cobra curries, for instance. These were also food for men only, suitable to serve at a drinking party.

252 A premium was put on good cooking, and certain women
261 who were noted for their cooking were in great demand for large
[868] scale food preparation during the ceremonial season. One farmer planned to send his daughter to learn from such a skilled cook, having in mind the food preparation which would be needed when his sons were old enough to be ordained. Adverse comments might be made if the food did not come up to expectation; thus, a small boy complained that his curry was "too salty," and an old woman said loudly that the curry made by her 16-year old grand-daughter was "not good," although this girl was the only one at home to cook.

Meal Patterns[1] and Preparation of Typical Thai Dishes

252 Food was commonly prepared twice a day, in the morning
264 and late afternoon. The meal pattern was the same for breakfast

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114 1. Suvarnakich (1950) described the Thai diet in a
262 general way and Sharp et al., (1953, pp. 263-274) summarized the small amount of information on diet in Bang Chan obtained during the preliminary study in 1948-49.

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mushrooms. The following section searches for sociological factors linked to these decisions. For example, are the well-to-do farmers* more apt than the less well-to-do to adopt agricultural innovations? To what extent is literacy a factor in acceptance of innovations? To what extent do differences in literacy, communications habits, cultural contacts and urban orientation account for tendencies to adopt or reject these changes?

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[125] * The following analysis has been made, in most cases, for male farmers only. The distribution of initial acceptance among the three groups of male farmers, females, and male non-farmers is given in the following table.

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TABLE 6. USE OF AGRICULTURAL INNOVATIONS AMONG THREE GROUPS OF BANG CHAN VILLAGERS

	Male Farmers (211)	Male Non-farmers (82)	Females (32)
Tried motor	71%	61%	48%
Didn't try	29	39	52
Tried mushroom growing	46%	35%	41%
Didn't try	54	65	59
Tried tilapia raising	35%	25%	31%
Didn't try	65	75	69
Tried fertiliser	15%	5%	**
Didn't try	85	95	

** Asked of farmers only.

It is apparent, as one would expect, that it is mainly the farmers who try these innovations. Relatively few women (with the exception of tilapia raising) and even fewer non-farmers say they have tried them. Since the absolute number of acceptors among women and non-farmers is too small to bear the separate treatment which would be essential to analyse the factors influencing the use or non-use of innovations, they have been excluded from the following presentation, which refers, thus, to male farmers only.

Economic Level

It could be, of course, that people on a higher economic level are in a better position to try agricultural innovations, since they might more easily afford not only an initial cost but also possible loss in trying out something new.

The survey data provide several indicators of economic level. Among other questions on this subject, all respondents were asked: "Here in your household how many buffaloes do you own?" About one-quarter reported owning no buffaloes at all; a little more than that proportion reported owning four or more; the median number of buffaloes reported was between two and three.

In Bang Chan buffalo are an indication of wealth, as is the amount of land planted to rice. Thus all farmers in the sample were also asked, "Last time you planted rice, how many rai* of rice did you plant?" About a third reported that they planted 19 rai or less; about one-fourth reported that they planted 40 rai or more; the median number of rai reported was 26.3.

If the reported number of buffalo owned is an adequate measure of economic level, then one would expect a high correlation between reported buffalo ownership and reported number of rai planted. If the expectation is borne out by the survey data the two indices may be used interchangeably. (Table 7 reports this relationship for the male farmers in the sample.)

TABLE 7. FARMERS# WHO OWN MORE BUFFALOES ARE MORE LIKELY TO CULTIVATE LARGER LAND HOLDINGS

	"...how many buffaloes do you own?"	
	None, one or two (99)	Three or more (112)
"...how many rai of rice did you plant?		
Less than 9	31%**	11
10-19	32	7
20-29	18	27
30-39	15	23
40-or more	3	41

Male farmers only
** Percentages may add to 99 or 101 owing to rounding of figures.

* A Thai land measure; 1 rai = 0.4 acres.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

CHAPTER IV

FARMING POPULATION

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It was indicated in the section on occupational structure in Bangchan, Chapter III, that there were two groups of villagers whose main incomes were directly derived from farming -- the farm operating and farm laboring families. These two groups constituted 254 out of a total of 298 families in the village in 1953 (Table 10). It should be noted, however, that Table 10 was constructed on the basis of the principal source of income of the family heads, and that the family was taken as a unit.

When individual farm workers are considered, four groups may be differentiated: (1) Farm operators; (2) Family workers; (3) Hired laborers; and (4) Piece-workers.

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Farm operators are those who are assumed to actively manage the farm. Actually, it has been observed that some wives did direct the farm work while their husbands assumed only a passive role. It is rather difficult, however, to point out among some one hundred couples which spouse actually manages the family farm. To save time, and perhaps embarssment, it was assumed that, where both husband and wife were involved, the husband -- the official family head --was the farm operator regardless of his actual role.

243 except for the question of some of these adults being tied
178 up with other jobs. Nevertheless, when limited job oppor-
592 tunity was considered, it was unlikely that this last
128 factor would appreciably affect the estimate. It was assumed, therefore, that 313 out of the total of 391 adults in our 106 sample-families, or an average of 3.0 persons per family, were working members in 1952.

[162] Table 32 shows that the size of farm operating families in 1952 ranged from one to thirteen, averaging 5.7, the median being 6. Eighty-six of these 106 families, or 81 per cent, had a size between three and eight.

Training for Farm Work

243 Every adult in the village of both sexes is expected
462 to be able to do farm work. This includes the ability to perform the following jobs.

Minimum standard: Every step of rice production except uprooting of rice seedlings which is performed only by adult males (for various steps of rice production, see the chapter on farm technology); digging and mounding; paddling and rowing; hauling except a heavy load like gas engines; tending the buffaloes and livestock; gardening; pounding of cargo rice for consumption during the work season; fishing by line-and-hook, dipping net, and trap; food preparation.

In addition to the minimum standard listed above for both male and female adults, male adults are expected to be able to perform the following jobs: Uprooting of rice

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 1871

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

243 seedlings; hauling heavy loads; fishing by throwing net
462 and by spearing; setting up and starting the windmill; starting the engine; simple carpentry work; most parts of house construction except the most technical parts like leveling and planning where the "professional" carpenters are often called in for advice; simple repairing of tools and equipment; guarding of the buffaloes and irrigation equipment left in the field when somebody must stay overnight at the temporary watch-house.

243 In order to be competent for these various farm jobs,
861 the young were gradually trained, starting at a rather early
868 age of 5-7 years. At the beginning they were not forced, but allowed to participate in some simple farm work like light hauling and removal of weeds which have been turned over by harrowing. Mild pressure is applied when they grow older to the age of 8-12, and they are expected to participate in more complex and heavier jobs. More and more discipline is observed with the progress of the age of the young. The outline of training schedule which we have tried to reconstruct in collaboration with some elderly Bangchan informants is given below.

Age	Method	Kinds of Farm Work
5- 7	Not forced, but allowed or induced to work if they want to.	Light hauling, removal of weeds which have been turned over by harrowing.
8-12	Mild pressure.	Light hauling, removal of weeds which have been turned over by harrowing, some household work, and help in the kitchen (girls only).